

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba mate/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which
all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In
general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent.
Yet I also know an old Nandéva woman who had ten children,
eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an
exceptional case.

• 842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the
tea of a plant called memby djá ú djá; they say that it is some-
times enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become preg-
nant. There is another plant that is used to promote the concep-
tion of male children. At least the Kayová and the Nandéva pre-
fer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbáá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to
occur. But, with respect to the Nandéva, I have noticed, for
instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of
them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Nandéva family with twin
children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins
is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the

732 Nandéva of Jacaré I found dull and senseless individuals, who,
[828] incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tupá rymbá, /29/
"created by God," that is, conceived without there having been
any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute
for an earlier child that had died.

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[114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guarani, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guarani that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

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• 842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupi-Guarani group, for the Guarani there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One Mbua informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

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[626] The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At

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personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbñá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

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[621] Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

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121 2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

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842 • On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

[171] The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Nandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

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many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
 [178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
 [833] belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
 [778] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need
 for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary
 simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
 842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
 787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
 [774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
 [776] because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the
 woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too,
 may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a
 boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he
 came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The
 male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
 842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
 846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
 611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade
 even when a daughter is born to him (4).

4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

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reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

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Poydju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poydju became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poydju's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avakandju (Nimvenda ju's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poydju opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poydju took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

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- 842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
 159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
 787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
 sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
 this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
 ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
 that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
 prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
 shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
 [775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
 not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
 one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
 was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
 reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
 787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
 842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
 as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
 deities do not always appear personally in the dream; some-
 times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
 grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
 in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
 identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
 be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
 receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
 in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
 have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
 774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
 842 Jacaré, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
 [756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
 [622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeé ("speech"), is
 [833] conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
 spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
 ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
 without need of sexual relations.

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without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not re-incarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroky (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of re-incarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guarani culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guarani doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

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of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

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Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the Randerú Fernando Tapari of Jacaref, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the Randerú Bastiño of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. This another important function is strengthened, that of the communal communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guarani mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

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- 842 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover
775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
184 the Nandéva, with only one important difference; that of not
admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or
adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed
to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the
village of Rio Branco expressed himself. "It is not in order to
return any more; when one goes up, another one comes down."
[776] It is God, Nanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the fe-
male children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the
father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Con-
cerning the theory of conception and the notion
of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern
Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is
found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan,
São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the
study of the mythology, the religion and the so-
cial organization of the Mbüá. The work offers
many new points of support for again taking up
the comparative study of the subgroups of the
tribe -- including a large part of the questions
touched on in the present essay.

- 77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
164 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through
which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all
things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a prin-
ciple of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and
humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous
generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction
of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the
first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical
ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and
isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

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And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the

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tavytẽĩ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytẽĩ) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paĩ Kuarã, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukũytẽĩ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukũytẽĩ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations by Paĩ Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

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With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers, Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacaré, and perhaps one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guarani doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted preemptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneĩ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

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The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guarani and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.

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But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guarani that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

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114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
 175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
 601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
 197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship
 terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in
 Montoya's work (8).

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8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos
 de parentesco in Tupi-Guaraní / Kinship
 Designations in Tupi-Guaraní /." Sociologia,
 Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

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Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters
 are not recorded by Montoya: /35/ they are the only ones that
 we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation
 for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does
 not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's
 son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
 [178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison
 of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day
 Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively
 long period, in the kinship system of certain Guarani-speaking
 groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

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Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have
 children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but
 there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to
 have children. In the case of not having children, it is always
 admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being
 attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.

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Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the
 pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

621 The members of the ancient Guaraní communities built the houses of
their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de
Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 Law and order.—It is only about modern Caingú communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do
not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the
punishment into its own hands.

576 Etiquette.—Among ancient Guaraní, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his
dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a
few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the
importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 Birth and naming.—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth,
the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The Apapocuvu
842 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
775 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
756 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
789 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
851 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
177 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
178 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
551 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of
77 Tupá, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
302-303).

881 Boys' Initiation.—A Caingú boy undergoes something of an initiation
rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[275] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupá that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[293] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[95] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult mascu-
line "ta."